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lived with their wives and children, and not all of which had royal headmen. The system of 'heads' disappeared, at least in the Ngoni group with which we are most concerned, and within their regiments men were grouped in terms of their place in the residential system.

3. *Foundation of the State*

The Nguni chiefdoms of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries were, according to all accounts, comparatively small. There were many of them and they were unstable. After about 1775 the pattern of political alignment began to alter and larger states appeared. By 1810 three kingdoms, the Mthethwa, Ndandwe and Qwabe,[6] dominated the rest and in 1818 Zwide, king of the Ndandwe, whose territory was in what is now northern Zululand, killed the Mthethewa king. He then turned his attention to Shaka, an Mthethwa by political affiliation who had conquered his kinsmen the Qwabe and had become the effective leader of the Mthethwa kingdom. Unfortunately for Zwide, he was defeated in 1819 by Shaka and thereupon the Ndandwe kingdom broke up. Some segments became part of Shaka's expanding State, others moved off to the north. About 1821[8] Zwangendaba, who had been for a time a sub-chief of Zwide, led a party of refugees north-eastwards into the region of Delagoa Bay. The route probably taken by Zwangendaba and his followers, and by other Ngoni groups, is shown in Map A. Near Delagoa Bay Zwangendaba found Soshangane, a classificatory brother of Zwide,[9] fighting with Nxaba, another minor chief, both of them refugees like Zwangendaba from the rising power of Shaka. All three parties raided the indigenous Tsonga peoples and made captives fight alongside their new masters.

Zwangendaba quarrelled with Soshangane and moved on farther north. He took with him his new Tsonga adherents and also some small groups of Swazi and related peoples who had fled independently from Shaka and who now placed themselves under

[6] I do not claim any consistency in my spelling of indigenous names and other words. As far as possible I have endeavoured to follow Atkins, 'Spelling Nyanja'. However I have written the unaspirated post-alveolar affricative in its old form ch whenever the new form c might be confused with the radical dental click consonant represented by c in Zulu.

[8] cf. Bryant, *Olden times*, p. 459. He is followed by Poole, *Native tribes*, pp. 5, 17, 71. Lancaster, 'Chronology', pp. 77, 84, gives 1823 and Winterbottom, 'Histories', p. 15, has 1823 or 1824. Young, *History*, p. 109, and Chibambo, *My Ngoni*, p. 8, both have 1825. Soga, *South-Eastern Bantu*, p. 272, says Zwangendaba left in 1829, while Cookesley, *Native tribes*, p. 20, says he left in the 1850's.

[9] For the exact relationship between Soshangane and Zwide, see Bryant, *Olden times*, pp. 161, 279, 454.

[Text continues on page 9]

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his leadership, or who may have been part of his following before the migration began.[10]

The people led by Zwangendaba called themselves Ngoni, a name derived from Nguni, a term of salutation (*isithakazelo*) common to many agnatic clans in Natal. The tribes with whom the Ngoni fought referred to them by a wide variety of names and it is under these that they appear in the early literature. They were known as Angoni, Amapundi, Bangoni, Batuta, Bazowa, Bunga, Landeens, Landims, Machendi, Mafiti, Mafitte, Magwagwara, Makwangara,

TABLE I. LEADERS OF GROUPS IN THE 1820's

Shaka	Effective head of the Mthethwa kingdom and founder of the Zulu empire.
Zwide	Ndandwe king, defeated by Shaka.
Soshangane	A classificatory younger brother of Zwide.
Zwangendaba	Independent minor chief, sometime ally of Zwide.
Mzilikazi	Originally independent leader who became one of Shaka's generals and later fled from him.
Nxaba	Independent minor chief who fled from Shaka.

Mangone, Mangwangwara, Manitu, Maviti, Mavitu, Mazite, Mazitu, Mbunga, Mchecherere, Rugaruga, Sinyama, Waangwe, Wajoja, Wamachonde, Wamachote, Wangoni, Wapoma, Watuta, Zulu and Zulu Kaffirs.[11] Some of these names they shared with other tribes and bands of brigands.

4. *The residential system*

The Nguni men and women who made up the core of Zwangendaba's following were grouped together in agnatic lineages and in age-sets. Their captives were absorbed into this social structure and in the process the structure was inevitably altered to conform to the peculiar features of Ngoni life. The heads of the various distinct lineages under Zwangendaba, or at least some of them, became known as *regional governors*[12] and their lineages became

[10] Bryant, *Olden times*, pp. 158-71, 204-16; Chibambo, *My Ngoni*, pp. 7-11.
[11] See Tew, *Lake Nyasa*, p. 93.
[12] *Mukumucana*, pl. *akumucana*. cf. Zulu, *umnumzana*, village headman; also Read, 'Tradition', p. 462.

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son, while her first son Mpezeni remained head of segment 4 as if he had been borne by her linked senior. Traditionally, a junior linked co-wife who had borne sons that had been taken over by her linked senior might be rewarded for her services by the formation of her own segment, to which she took her youngest son, and the disposition of sons in segments 4 and 11 was in accord with this principle. Another wife of Zwangendaba who was attached to segment 4 was given her own segment 12 (Mkucweni) in which she lived with two linked juniors and other quasi-related dependants. A lieutenant of segment 4 made his own inferior segment 9 (Cikenkheni).

At the next generation level Mpezeni created segment 10 (Loangeni) for his great wife and later established two subsidiary bevies of wives in segments 14 (Fumbeni) and 15 (Cimpinga). Within one of these, segment 14, a junior wife made her own segment 17 (Ngiyelweni) and Mpezeni placed another wife in the headquarters of segment 4, in accordance with the custom by which the heir to any large segment placed one of his wives in the headquarters of that segment. Finally, in each of segments 10 and 11, a lieutenant broke out of the headquarters to found his own segment, namely 13 (Tondweni) and 16 (Fafazeni) respectively. Many other segments, large and small, were created but we have now mentioned all the segments under Mpezeni's control which later became the nuclei of counties in the Native Authority system and whose relative positions are shown in Diagram 1.

8. *Foreign policy*

The Fort Jameson Ngoni are described by pre-conquest travellers as living during the 1890s in a compact area surrounded by a belt of uninhabited country, beyond which were the tribes they raided. It seems probable that this spatial arrangement was not followed consistently throughout their history and that at various times and places the Ngoni came to some agreement with their neighbours whereby they either settled among them or established a settled rule over them. Thus Young, writing of the period 1835-9, says that the Ngoni settled among the Senga (Nsenga). Chibambo, however, says of the same period that the Ngoni 'captured many Senga without difficulty'.[28] The evidence is more definite for the period 1860-80, so far as Mwambera's group is concerned. Chibambo lists the tribes conquered by Mwambera in this period and adds: 'After overcoming them the Ngoni acted wisely; they did not break up local rule, or ways of

[28] Young, *History*, p. 111; Chibambo, *My Ngoni*, p. 22.

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173 worship. They allowed the local chiefs to govern their people
636 according to their own laws and customs, but under the authority
727 of the Ngoni. They followed the method of governing which Europeans call "indirect rule".' They also took selected children from the conquered peoples and reared them as Ngoni in Ngoni villages. Young's account supports this.[37] Whether or not this method of government was wise is clearly a matter of opinion. It is perhaps significant that for Mpezeni's people the evidence provided by the present disposition of persons claiming descent from different ethnic groups suggests that a different policy was followed there. Chibambo and Young talk of groups of warriors under Mwambera belonging to various subjugated tribes; in Mpezeni's area captured men appear to have been drafted into
[561] the various age-set regiments, so that men from the same tribe were distributed throughout the army and did not form a distinct group.
173 Territorially, the dispersion of captives from the same tribe was not
563 so complete, for it appears that in Mpezeni's group the major
727 segment settled on the east of the Ngoni area raided mostly to the east, and the western segment to the west, and so on, so that many of the captives taken from a particular locality were to be found in the major segment of the State nearest their homeland. Yet even this concentration of captives with the same ethnic origin was not complete, and representatives from all the principal tribes with whom the Ngoni came into contact are nowadays to be found in all parts of Mpezeni's Ngoniland. We suggest that this policy of assimilation, practised to a much greater degree by Mpezeni than by Mwambera, may be correlated with the fact that in Mpezeni's group there were no revolts by groups of captives of common origin, whereas in Mwambera's there were three such revolts, by Lake Tonga, Kamanga and Henga tribesmen.

173 Mwambera attacked the Cewa chief Mwase Kasungu some
721 time round about 1860, and was driven off in the face of fire from
648 guns Mwase had obtained from Arabs. He subsequently came to an agreement with Mwase whereby the Cewa chief became his 'child' and lent him soldiers armed with guns to assist in Ngoni raids. Travellers suggest that later Mwase came to an agreement with Mpezeni as well, but this is not so certain. Mpezeni does seem to have established peaceful relations with one or two minor chieftains during the period of early European contact,[38] but for

[37] Chibambo, *My Ngoni*, pp. 39-41; Young, *History*, p. 119.

[38] e.g. Cusula, a Kunda chief and Msoro, who had Kunda and Nsenga connexions. Poole, *Native tribes*, p. 11; Sharpe, 'Journey from Lake Nyassa', p. 746.

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the most part all external relations were warlike. The State, as it were, was internally an organization of segments and externally stood posed against an undifferentiated hostile world. Even with the Maseko Ngoni of southern Nyasaland, the Ngoni group spatially nearest to Mpezeni, relations were warlike.

Despite this hostility, it seems probable that some individuals from the neighbouring tribes did leave their own country and join the Ngoni of their own free will. I was given accounts of this in a number of family and village histories, and while it is possible that some of those people whose ancestors were captured may now think it preferable to speak of voluntary attachment to the Ngoni State rather than capture, I do not think this can be the complete explanation. In the first place, very many Ngoni of to-day are quite prepared to admit that their ancestors were captured on Ngoni raids, so that the desire to conceal the capture of an ancestor, if it exists at all, cannot be widespread. On the contrary, some Cewa chiefs and notables who are now politically independent of the Ngoni and live in their own chiefdoms will recount with great interest how their ancestors were captured by the Ngoni. Secondly, some of those who claim that their ancestors joined the Ngoni of their own volition come from places a long way distant from Ngoni country, where the frequency of Ngoni raids cannot have been high, even if the Ngoni ever raided there at all. For instance, one village claims that its people came voluntarily from as far away as Fingoe, in Portuguese East Africa. Thirdly, there is a well-known instance of a son and other close relatives of an Nsenga chief who joined the Ngoni and rose to high position in the State. The Ngoni Paramount Chief and some of the minor chiefs are still friendly with the descendants of this Nsenga chief, Kalindawalo, and the story that these Nsenga nobles were not captured but were instructed by their own chief to transfer their allegiance to the Ngoni seems probably to be true, despite a contrary tradition among the Nsenga that these men were taken as captives.[39] Lastly there is the evidence of Glave, writing in 1894, who says that a host of villages had given themselves up to the Ngoni rather than submit to the constant anxiety of attack.[40] Thus provision was made for men and women to join the State other than as captives. These volunteers were treated in the same way as captives. They were allocated, either as individuals or in small groups, to a segment and came under the orders of a lord or lady. The Ngoni lived at a much higher standard

[39] cf. Field, *Visiilana*, p. 16; Poole, *Native tribes*, pp. 42-4.

[40] 86, fo. 329. See p. p. 68, f.n. 8. See also Wiese, 'Expedição', p. 478.

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of life than their neighbours, largely at the expense of those neighbours. It is therefore not surprising that at least some of the more adventurous of the hunted should have decided to join the ranks of the hunters.

In Tanganyika the activities of the Arabs and other slave traders brought about significant changes in Ngoni society earlier than in the less accessible Nyasa region. The Ngoni in Tanganyika did not regard their neighbours merely as enemies. Ngoni warriors formed part of the army of Mirambo, the Nyamwezi slave trader. An elaborate network of joking relationships seems to have regulated intercourse between the tribes of Tanganyika and the Tanganyika Ngoni were linked to many of their neighbours in this way.[41] Joking relationships of this kind did not develop among the Fort Jameson Ngoni. In recent times, however, Ngoni from Fort Jameson have come into contact on the Copperbelt and elsewhere with tribes such as the Bemba who have developed a joking relationship with other Ngoni groups. These joking relationships are now extended to the Fort Jameson men.

From this historical account we are able to gain some idea of Ngoni polity during the mid-nineteenth century. We have restricted our attention to the relations existing between major portions of the State and between the State and its neighbours. We have seen how forms of organization, in particular the lineage system, with which the Ngoni began their march, were modified in conformity with the peculiar conditions of migrant brigandage. In the next chapter we shall look more closely at the internal organization of the State and attempt to analyse the social processes at work within it.

[41] See the writings of Moreau, Fedler, Scrivener and Spies.

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society. This was not so among the Ngoni. We know little about the way in which rights in cultivated and grazing-lands, hunting-rights and rights to water were distributed in the old Ngoni State, but if the present position is any guide, it seems likely that there was no well-developed system of land-holding. After dwelling in any one area for five years or so, the tribe moved on, partly because the fertility of the soil had been exhausted and partly for other reasons. Thus rights to land did not endure; land itself was expendable. What endured was merely the pattern of residential settlement, the arrangement of people in clusters and divisions and villages. Men and women lived where they belonged in the segmentary residential system, and relative geographical position did not determine, but was determined by, political affiliation.

Power in the State was thus power over people rather than over natural resources. It is true that cattle were valuable, but even they appear to have been eaten rather more often than in many tribes in which cattle are a form of wealth and investment rather than a regular item of diet. Furthermore, there was the doctrine that all cattle belonged to the Paramount Chief, so that village headmen with cattle in their byres held them, as it were, only by favour of the chief. The principal index of power was the number of a man's dependants. Political struggles were essentially not struggles to control wealth but to enjoy the support of followers. The main source of dependants was from raiding, and hence the allocation of captives was crucial to the working of the social system.

Fraser writes of the northern Nyasaland Ngoni, that warriors kept their own captives.[1] This does not seem to have been the usual procedure among the Fort Jameson group. Although some informants spoke as if they, or their forebears, had been actually taken by the person who became their lord, others said that in general all captives belonged to the Paramount Chief, and that he could allocate them as he wished; usually, however, he allocated them to the warriors who had captured them. It was a specific privilege of regional governors to keep their own captives. It seems probable that the Paramount Chief's allocations were made to the heads of segments to which the warriors belonged, for many of my informants were said to have been captured by a few people, some of whom are described by contemporary travellers as generals and war-leaders, and who are unlikely to have made many front-line captures themselves. Moreover, it seems that on small raids organized by the head of a major segment, not on a national scale,

[1] Fraser, *Primitive people*, p. 37.

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captives were retained within the segment. In later years, at least, small-scale raiding organized by segment heads went on without the Paramount Chief's knowledge and it seems unlikely under those conditions that captives would have been sent in to him.

There is confirmatory evidence from other Ngoni groups. Hodgson wrote of the Dowa group that a warrior who had captured three or more people had one returned to him by the chief,[1] from which we may infer that they were at the disposal of the chief. For the Southern Ngoni, who are not so closely related to the Fort Jameson group as are those in northern Nyasaland and Dowa District, Read wrote that the Paramount Chief had a monopoly of slaves taken in war and that he distributed these to successful warriors, his wives and his relatives.[2]

Cattle were handled in much the same way as captives. There was a dogma that all cattle belonged to the Paramount Chief, but they were dispersed among the different villages and kept in the byres there. The lord of a major segment had effective control of the cattle in his own village and, when he chose to exercise it, in the other villages of his segment as well. When the Paramount Chief visited a village, cattle were killed in his honour and he was praised as the giver of the feast, but in the chief's absence the head of the village decided when beasts were to be killed. A lord appointed his lieutenants to look after his cattle as well as his people. When cattle had been taken on a raid, they were driven back to Ngoniland and then allocated to a lord.

Cattle for bridewealth were provided for a man by his lord. However it seems possible that a large proportion of the marriages made by politically unimportant people were not ratified by the passage of cattle.[4]

Such evidence as there is suggests that the Ngoni consumed their cattle faster than many similar cattle people and, as with dependants, they captured cattle more than they reared them. People speak of the days before the conquest as a time when they lived entirely on meat and beer. Poole suggests that the Ngoni produced little or no food in their own country,[5] and while this is plainly contradicted by contemporary evidence, it is probable that they did rely on raiding to supplement their supplies of cattle and cereals, and that therefore many captured cattle were used as food. Thus cattle themselves were a short-term asset and the control of

[1] Hodgson, 'Dowa District', p. 133.
[2] Read, 'Standards of Living', p. 20.
[4] cf. Barnes, *Marriage*, pp. 7-8.
[5] Poole, 'Human geography of Lundazi and Petauke', p. 13.

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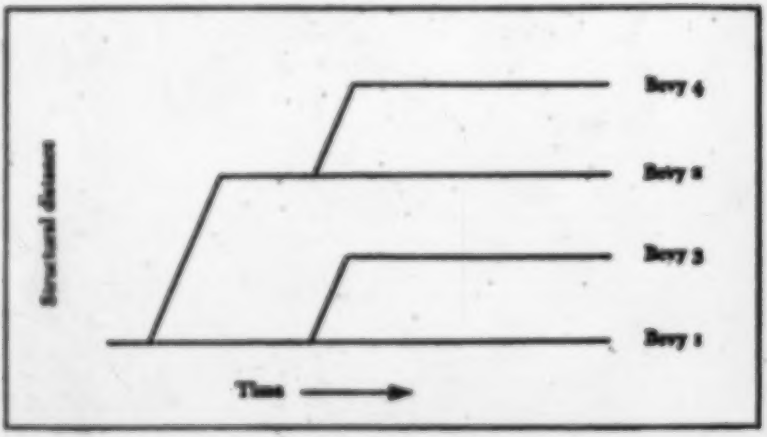
cattle did not give rise to any cleavage of interest which was not already present in the residential system.

The system could also be manipulated by disputes about succession. If a man had many bevies of wives there was usually no doubt concerning which was the senior bevy and who was the great wife in it. Yet in general it was not possible to rank a man's bevies in a simple linear order of seniority, any more than the segments

DIAGRAM 3. RANKING OF BEVIES



to which they corresponded could be ordered in this way. In topological terms, ranking of bevies and of segments among the Ngoni was only partially, not simply, ordered. An example, illustrated in Diagram 3, will make this clear.

Suppose a man started with bevy 1 and then took part of it to form bevy 2. Later he took another part of bevy 1 to form bevy 3 and took part of bevy 2 to form bevy 4. With four bevies of wives, his senior bevy was bevy 1 and his great wife was the leader of bevy 1. Her eldest son was his principal heir, and if she had no sons the eldest son by the next wife in her bevy became heir. But suppose there was no son by any wife in bevy 1. Which band provided the principal heir? It seems clear that bevy 4 did not, at least not if there were sons in bevy 2, for bevy 2 was senior to bevy 4. Bevy 2 might be regarded as senior to bevy 3, for it was formed from bevy 1 earlier. On the other hand, with reference to bevy 2, bevy 3 was merely a part of bevy 1 and hence the search for heirs should be continued in bevy 3 before shifting to bevy 2. Unfortunately I

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could assemble for hunting and fighting, similar to the sectors attached to chiefly villages among the Zulu.[1] 561 701

Women were organized into parallel age-sets, led by daughters of the royal line and other important young women. Men and women of corresponding sets danced together on ceremonial occasions, and among themselves women in a regiment used to fight 'to see who was strongest'. After marriage a woman ceased to participate actively in these regimental dances and fights. [562]

The most important national festival was the first fruits ceremony held annually at the headquarters of Zwangendaba's great wife's segment. This was organized on an age-set basis, and there was much competitive dancing. Special songs were sung, and on conclusion of the ceremony a large national raid might be undertaken. 561 796 [726]

The Ngoni depended largely on the efficiency of their army for the continual inflow of captives on which the strength and continued existence of the State depended. The age-set system provided them with an efficient army, and in addition was a means whereby the centrifugal tendency inherent in their segmentary system was partly checked. 561 701 727

Each major segment had members in each regiment, and each regiment was drawn from every major segment. It provided the central authority with an instrument by which the segments could be held together, for on national raids the young men of every segment were in danger. No one segment, save the State itself, could claim the glory for a successful battle, but only the regiments involved. The Paramount Chief did not possess a complete monopoly of force, for we have already noted that sometimes segment heads organized their own raids. But these were small affairs, 561 701 621 [643]

[1] cf. Gluckman, 'Kingdom of the Zulu', p. 31.

1
←A

(a) Mpezeni I's regiment. Lancaster says Mpezeni I was in Mayunge.
(b) Nsingu's regiment.
(c) Mpezeni II's regiment.
(d) Maola. Wiese and some of my informants support the earlier position; Lancaster and other of my informants support the later one.
(e) Maiyiza. Lancaster and one of my informants support the earlier position; a more reliable informant supports the later one. [114]

Wiese gives two other regimental names. His Madouda or Madoda is merely the status term *madoda*, meaning 'mature, respected and important men'. His other regimental name, Madjinga or Madjinga, is probably also a status term, meaning 'very old men'. Rangeley has the names Tatakakulu, Mang'onibe, Izimpisi, Makeke, Mahacu, Zimfezi, Manyoni. [559]

Sources: twenty-three independent informants, offering partly conflicting accounts; Wiese, 'Expedição', p. 477, and 'Geschichte', p. 195; Lancaster, 'Chronology', p. 82; Rangeley, 'Mtwalo', p. 50.

1 [Footnotes pertain to Table III, page 58. - Analyst]

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involving perhaps between a dozen and a hundred men, whereas the Paramount Chief could, so long as the State remained intact, command the services of perhaps 10,000 warriors.

This unifying effect of the age-set system applied particularly to the recent captives. It appears to have been through the regimental system that recent captives, both men and women, were indoctrinated into Ngoni ways and made to feel that they, too, were Ngoni. In the residential system, recent captives were dependants rather than lords. In the age-set system there was no such distinction. Men captives were drafted into the regiment appropriate to their apparent age, and boys were enrolled with their coevals. They were called upon to fight in the same way as their aristocratic comrades, and were offered the same prospects of promotion, both within the age-set system and in the segmentary organization, as a result of successful fighting. Many of the well-remembered segment heads who achieved rapid promotion after capture are described as being successful warriors.

The annual first fruits ceremony (*ukuselo*) was organized on an age-set basis. Although I was not able to establish details of this ceremony, it is clear that it was the most memorable national ceremony in the year, and that it provided supernatural sanction to the cohesion of the State and of the various regiments, under the leadership of the Paramount Chief. There were dances and mock fighting between regiments, and women also fought with each other in age-set groups of some kind or other. Read states that the description of the ceremony she was given showed much similarity with the corresponding Swazi ceremony. Commentators on the Swazi and Zulu ceremonies describe them as strengthening the army and the kingship and unifying the nation, by a dramatic exaggeration of the conflicts as well as the links within it, and it is probable that this was true also of the Ngoni.[1]

The Ngoni and their neighbours formed part of a wide social system, and the relationship between them was a political one. When the Ngoni moved from place to place, the area round them was vacated by its former inhabitants, so as to leave a dwelling-area for the Ngoni and a no-man's-land isolating it from other inhabited areas. These moves were forced on the indigenous people by Ngoni raids. There were no direct relations between States, for there was little concerted opposition to Ngoni raiding

[1] cf. Read, 'Tradition', p. 470; Kuper *African Aristocracy*, pp. 223-5; Gluckman, 'First fruits ceremonies', pp. 30-3. The Swazi ceremony is called *incwala*, and Read's informants called it *ingwala*, but my informants had lost their click consonants.

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as diagnostic of the presence of the kind of segmentary society in which we are interested. All the societies included by Fortes and Evans-Pritchard in their stateless category, i.e. Logoli, Tallensi and Nuer, have continually segmenting political systems. Of the societies with government, the Zulu were like the Ngoni in being a State and yet having a political system which was continually segmenting. Both of these states were organized by a segmentary system even at the highest level, so that it does not seem necessary to follow Fortes in restricting segmentary systems to only the sub-divisions of states. In Shaka's time various changes came about in Zululand, such as the concentration of the army in a central area, which lessened the importance of the segmentary organization. But in the eighteenth century large-scale relations between and within the Nguni chiefdoms were governed by the agnatic segmentary organization, that is, by the division of the people into clans, sub-clans, and lineages and by the continual transfer of allegiance by lineage segments from one chief to another. Even during the period of the Zulu empire, the continual segmentation of the constituent tribes was important in maintaining the power of the central government over them.[88]

If one of the main characteristics of the well-known African lineage systems, both in stateless societies like the Nuer, Tallensi, Logoli and Gusii, and in primitive states like the Zulu, is their political function, we may well inquire if these systems are not also one type in a more general category of political systems. Although lineage relations are essentially distinct from kinship relations, a lineage system defines political relations in the idiom of kinship. Thus in agnatic systems, the relationship between territorial groups may be expressed in terms of the relationships between founding ancestors who were brothers or fathers and sons. We have seen how among the Ngoni the relationship between captor and captive, between lord and dependant, and hence the relationship between the segments they founded, was expressed in agnatic terms. The relationship between husband and wife, lord and lady, was employed to define the relationship between the political groups they led, and in this respect the Ngoni system may be seen as taking one stage further the process employed in lineage systems, where most relationships of this kind are phrased agnatically. Among the south-eastern Bantu, however, the relationship between lineage segments founded by paternal half-brothers is defined in terms of their mothers' position as co-wives. Among some central African peoples, this process has been carried even further than

[88] Gluckman, 'Modern Zululand', pp. 147-54.

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where other states, if states they were, organized themselves on quite different lines. Ngoni external political relations were restricted to acts of war. They harried their neighbours but did not bring them into enduring political relationship. When fission occurred, when the Ngoni State split into two, then indeed the fighting that took place was war between segments, and for a while an inter-segment relationship which had been internal became external and was mediated through force. Relations of this kind did not persist, for independent Ngoni groups soon diverged from each other, seeking weaker enemies.

5. *Lineage systems compared*

Our argument in the preceding section was directed to showing that the old Ngoni society was a state in which internal political relations were largely determined by a continually segmenting residential system. We compared it with other societies in which lineage systems provided the basis for political relations. We now have to ask how did this residential system differ from these similar systems; was it a kind of lineage system?

Gluckman has set out nine criteria by which a lineage system may be distinguished and which we may apply to the residential system.[87] In the first place we must expand the meaning of the word descent before we can call an Ngoni segment a unilineal descent group. However it seems justifiable to regard the process by which an Ngoni captive sundered the ties linking him to his natal community and was then incorporated in a new one as a kind of social death and re-birth.[88] We may then speak of a captive being socially descended from his lord. More familiarly, we must use descent to include social descent from a man when biological descent is from his kinsman acting as pro-husband for him after his death, and from a woman when biological descent is from her linked junior co-wife. With these extensions of meaning, we may regard the residential system as composed of unilineal descent groups.

Lineage segments, particularly small ones, are usually exogamous, whereas no Ngoni segment was automatically an exogamous unit. True agnatic kin could not marry one another, but the quasi-agnatic relationship between a lord and his dependants was not a bar, and a man and woman with the same captor were free to marry each other, even though they both called their lord *father*.

[87] Gluckman, in Mitchell and Barnes, *Lamba village*, pp. 4–5.

[88] cf. Warner's description of the passing of light-skinned Negroes in the United States into the White caste as 'social death'.

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before it can be moved further. The same accumulation of snow then begins again with each fragment.

We can readily see that this system was one of great flexibility. The rules of the system were fairly definite, and the principles of agnatic descent and primogeniture were never violated. Yet it was a system very susceptible to manipulation, and one appropriate to a society with a rapidly expanding population recruited mainly by capture. The relationships between a man and his wives, his sons, and his other dependants provided the basis for differentiation within his segment, but they did not determine in advance which wife should be made leader of a bevy, which bevy should get most dependants, which of his younger sons he should favour, which dependants he would appoint as lieutenants.

Without a continual inflow of captives this wide pattern of segmentation might not have produced anything more than a lineage system on the same lines as the Zulu and Swazi. The captives were the bulk which swelled the segments, which benefited one segment at the expense of another. This system provided quasi-agnatic affiliation to people whose actual parentage was unknown or irrelevant. Because of this source of supply, much greater segmentation was achieved in each generation than was possible in an orthodox lineage system. The whole system lasted only seventy-seven years for the Fort Jameson group, corresponding roughly to three generations, yet almost the whole population of the Ngoni groups stemming from Zwangendaba, numbering perhaps half a million people, could at the end of that time trace quasi-agnatic ascent back to him or his forebears.

Membership of age-sets gave rise to one set of bonds which cut across the lines of segmentary division; those bonds created by marriage gave rise to another. A man in one segment was linked by ties of affinity to men in several others, and because of these ties interacted with them on formal and informal occasions, exchanged cattle with them, and had a joint interest with them in their common descendants. Though segments were not exogamous, a wife from a structurally distant segment had in general a higher status and was more likely to be selected as leader of a bevy than was one from the same minor segment as her husband. Within a segment a son of the lord might marry the daughter of a lieutenant, and lieutenants sometimes married daughters of their lord, thus blending the bonds of affinity with those of quasi-agnation. As the heads of segments, married women played a more important role than we usually associate with them in strongly patrilineal societies. The lady of a segment retained her connexion with the segments

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Maskanga. Swann appears to have believed Mpezeni sincerely wished to stop raiding into the Protectorate although his people continued to do so.[88]

The cleavage within the tribe between Chief and people was attributed by Wiese to the large number of captives who had been incorporated.[89] We may well ask whether there had not always been considerable fluidity in the distribution of power among the different branches of the royal house and their supporters. After the death of Zwangendaba there was factional fighting, and at least once on the march north, about 1840, there was a purge in which the original members of the tribe, presumably Ndandwe by origin, killed off many of the more recently incorporated Tsonga who had been promoted at their expense.[90] These struggles show clearly that the formal arrangement of segments within the residential system did not preclude struggles for power within that system. The decline in power of Mpezeni and the rise of his heir must indeed be seen as part of the normal operation of the system rather than the result of manipulation or of unusual external conditions.

Wiese anticipated that there would be fighting on the death of Mpezeni.[91] Some idea of the way in which the fight would have gone in the new circumstances of European contact is given by Wiese's statement, in 1891, that Nzermane would not submit to Nsingu on Mpezeni's death and that he would be the best successor as far as the interests of Portugal were concerned.[92] Later, Deare remarked that the 'king had two other sons, younger than Tsinko, named Zamane and Madzimai, whom I never saw, but I learnt much about them and had fixed my eye on the former for the succession if anything happened'.[93] When British troops had already begun their advance on Ngoni, Manning, their commander, hoped that the tribe would split into factions, some of which would side with him.[94]

Fighting between rival claimants for the throne was likely even without external backing for one candidate. We have only to turn to Zululand for an analogous situation in which there was fighting

[88] Swann's report for 1896, *B.C.A.G.*, iv, 7 (15 April 1897), p. 1.
[89] Wiese, 'Geschichte', p. 187.
[90] See p. 19. Elmslie, *Wild Ngoni*, p. 24; Chilambo, *My Ngoni*, p. 23; cf. Young, *History*, p. 118, who reverses the role played by witch-finders in this incident.
[91] As reported by Warton in June 1896, cited by Poole, *Native tribes*, p. 13.
[92] Wiese, 'Expedição', p. 433.
[93] Deare, 'Slave raiders', 11 May. In modern spelling, Nsingu, Nzermane, and Madzimai.
[94] 2Bz, fo. 39.

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B.S.A. Company's administration which now began to operate in Mpezeni's country itself. Each had its own African police force and on one occasion two people who had been taken prisoner by the Administration's police were released by a party of North Charterland police. The North Charterland police then arrested the Administration's police, and it was necessary for troops to come from Nyasaland to release them and arrest the North Charterland men.[110] By the end of 1899, however, conditions had become more settled. The B.S.A. Administration had acquired effective control over the whole of Mpezeni's country outside Nyasaland.

The military operations in December 1897 and in 1898 were carried out during the wet season and in consequence there was much sickness among the troops. Although it was not the time of year which the Europeans would have chosen for a campaign, according to one of my informants Warringham had been advised by an Ngoni man whose support he had gained that he should arrange for the war to take place while all the warriors were away from the immediate vicinity of Fort Young attending the national first fruits ceremony at the headquarters of segment 4, the village of Zwangendaba's great wife. The descendants of this man are still regarded as traitors by other Ngoni. The first fruits ceremony was usually held about the new year, so that the war may in fact have followed immediately after the ceremony. This view is supported by the remark made by Harding, who arrived in Ngoniland a few months after the war was over. He said that the war 'arose over a highly strung official [presumably Warringham] mistaking an ordinary Native dance for an act of hostility towards the Administration'.[111] Whatever the truth in the matter, the first fruits ceremony would have been an appropriate time for Nsingu to call for an attack on the Whites.

7. *Cattle*

It has been estimated that before the war there were about 20,000 head of cattle in Mpezeni's country.[112] During the fighting many were taken from Ngoni by Protectorate troops. These animals became the subject of much recrimination. Read states that half the cattle of the Ngoni were taken as 'rightful loot', while Poole states that a large portion of the 14,000 head captured were ultimately restored to their Ngoni owners.[113]

[110] arg. fn. 368.
[111] Harding, *Far Bugles*, p. 81.
[112] 230, p. 69 has 14,000, while *Report on the Administration*, 1903, p. 19, has 15,000-20,000.
[113] Read, 'Tradition', p. 478; Poole, *Native tribes*, p. 16.

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According to Manning, in his first report on the matter dated 17 February 1898, nearly 12,000 head were captured. It seems clear that at the time Manning thought that the whole of this herd would be used for the benefit of the B.S.A. Company, for he wrote:

> 'I have informed the British South Africa Company that we shall require them to pay the actual expenses incurred by us on account of the campaign. I do not imagine the total cost to the British South Africa Company will be more than 2,000*l*. This will be covered ten times over by the value of the cattle captured by the expedition, so that the British South Africa Company will reap a handsome profit on the campaign.'[114]

There seems, however, to have been considerable discussion among Europeans in the region about the disposal of the cattle. Roberts, a surgeon who had been one of Wiese's companions at Fort Young, was dismissed from the North Charterland shortly after the war ended. Wiese also left the country after the war and lost his North Charterland post worth £900 a year. Manning suggests that these two were anxious to make trouble by attacking the conduct of the war. St. Hill, the North Charterland manager, may have been anxious to forestall any accusations for on 23 April he published in a newspaper a statement admitting that there had been criticism on the capture of the cattle, but pointing out that 'Army regulations provide for a certain amount of loot'. He said that it had been a wonderfully cheap expedition, that the Protectorate men who went in certainly deserved something, and that he expected that the B.S.A. Company would return a very large number of cattle to the Natives.[115] Editorial comment on his article was nevertheless critical. Criticism began to be heard in Britain. A letter was written to the Parliamentary Secretary responsible, a question was asked in the Commons, and an article appeared in *Truth*. According to one account, the military officers said they expected £400 or £500 each from their share of the loot.[116] Whether or not he was influenced by this criticism, Sharpe on leave in England proposed on 12 May that half the captured herds be returned to the Ngoni, the other half to be retained by the B.S.A. Company.[117] On the same day the Foreign Office replied to Manning's dispatch of 17 February, quoted above, with the statement that the B.S.A. Company wanted only three hundred beasts. Manning was asked to

[114] 235.
[115] *Central African Times*, i, 30 (23 April 1898), p. 3.
[116] 216, fn. 8; 217; *Parliamentary Debates*, 4th series, lv (1898), cols. 1240, 1654-5; *Truth*, xliii, 1102 (30 June 1898), pp. 1639-40.
[117] 220.

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consider returning some of the remainder to the Ngoni.[116] Manning replied that representatives of the B.S.A. Company had already made arrangements for driving away five thousand cattle. He proposed to return three thousand to Mpezeni.[117]

The subsequent course of events is not clear. Poole states that due to the opportune arrival and intervention of Selby, a member of the B.S.A. Company's Administration, a large proportion of the cattle were ultimately restored to their Ngoni owners. This is in accord with Sharpe's statement on 6 July that 'Mpezeni . . . has had all his cattle returned to him [his underlining]'. A missionary journal published in Blantyre on 15 July stated that probably a considerable part of the cattle had been returned.[118] Manning, who was in a better position to know than Sharpe, who was still on leave, wrote on 31 August that all the cattle had been returned to the Natives with the exception of about a thousand head handed over to the B.S.A. Company as a fine and about two hundred kept for the use of the troops.[119] The matter then seemed to have been settled.

In the next year the North Charterland continued its quarrel with the B.S.A. Company, and the disposal of the captured cattle was discussed again. The North Charterland complained that the whole Ngoni war had been unnecessary and had been provoked by the B.S.A. Company. There had been wholesale looting of cattle which had been disposed of in the interests of the officers concerned, Natives had been expelled from their lands, and in consequence the commercial prospects of the North Charterland had been ruined. The Foreign Office replied to these allegations on 23 August 1899, stating that so far as the cattle were concerned, five thousand head were to be driven out, three thousand returned to Mpezeni, and the balance held at the disposal of the B.S.A. Company, apart from two hundred and fifty head captured inside the Protectorate and driven off for use by the troops. This reply, referring to what would be done rather than what by then presumably had been done, appears to have been based on the arrangements proposed by Manning on 20 May 1898. Either the arrangements he reported on 31 August 1898 were never put into operation or else they were overlooked by mistake when the Foreign Office reply to the North Charterland was drafted a year later. The latter explanation seems more probable.[120]

[116] 225.
[117] 227.
[118] Poole, *Native Tribes*, p. 16; 222, fn. 228; *Life and Work in British Central Africa*, 125 (15 July 1898), p. 3.
[119] 229, fn. 456.
[120] 230; 233.

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Manning stipulated that cattle handed back to the Ngoni should not be sold, to prevent traders bartering cattle for gunpowder.[130] Nevertheless the majority of the cattle remaining in or returned to Ngoni hands were sold within two years. In April 1898 over 14,000 head of cattle were counted.[131] Whether or not all these were in Ngoni ownership at the time is not clear, although the North Charterland implied in a letter written in 1899 that at least 19,000 belonged to Ngoni.[132] During the next year or so, in spite of Administrative opposition, many thousands of cattle were sold to traders or killed. By 31 March 1900 only 1,224 remained.[133] Thus another of the systems of social relationships, those mediated through cattle, which had sustained the old social order, was undermined.

8. *The end of a system*

Thus ended the Ngoni war and with it the Ngoni State. In the last twelve years of its existence, from 1886 to 1898, three struggles were proceeding simultaneously in linked regions of social space. First there were the traditional processes already described by which Ngoni killed and recruited their neighbours and by which cleavages between segments of their residential system widened and altered with time. Second there was the struggle between Portugal, Great Britain and, peripherally, Germany for the political control of south-central Africa. Third there was a struggle between different groups of financiers in London for the control of the rich economic resources which they believed, quite mistakenly as far as we can now tell, lay waiting to be discovered in Mpezeni's country and round about. Apart from these three major fields of activity, there were two others which affected this particular area to a lesser degree. There were the traders and adventurers like Wiese (until 1896), Matakenya and the Arabs who competed with one another and endeavoured to exploit the region in terms of ivory, gunpowder and slaves. There were also the various missions, representing the interests of their co-religionists and anti-slavery enthusiasts in Europe, competing with each other and with the slave traders for local control. There was even a scheme for colonizing Mpezeni's country with Christian laymen from Britain.[137] All these social fields were interwoven in reality, but in analysis

[130] 227; 228, fn. 131; 233.
[131] *Reports on the Administration*, 1898-1900, p. 63.
[132] 230, p. 69. Duff, *Nyasaland*, p. 333, implies that all the 14,000 belonged to Ngoni.
[133] *Reports on the Administration*, 1898-1900, p. 63.
[137] 87.

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such as Sharpe, Thomson and Deare, and with my own information based on village histories. Combining this with the lowest estimate of population, we arrive at a population density of 100 persons to the square mile, while the highest estimate implies a density of 375. Highly unreliable as these figures are, it is clear that the density of population was considerably greater before the conquest than it is now, when it averages about 68 persons to the square mile. Even the present-day figure is nearly three times the density which the land can sustain in perpetuity.

This dense population was concentrated in large villages. Angus estimated that there were at least a thousand huts in Loangeni, while Deare estimated that there were sixteen hundred. Read states that it was over three miles across, while Genthe says that Ngoni villages were about five times the size of the average Cewa village. From the top of a mountain, Deare saw eleven villages all about the same size as Loangeni.[141] Thus it seems that there were several villages with populations of the order of three thousand. If Deare and Johnston are right in their estimates of tribal population the majority of the people lived in these big villages.

Yet by September 1898 the only villages left in Mpezeni's country were a few to the east of Fort Young. All the rest had been destroyed by troops, and their former inhabitants were said to be 'still timid' and living in scattered groups in grass shelters.[142] The large pre-conquest settlements were particularly vulnerable to attack by troops armed with guns and intent on burning, the more so because there were no defensive preparations at all. Glave wrote in 1894 that the Ngoni 'have no stockaded village, such protection they deem unnecessary as no enemy can be strong enough to attack them'.[143]

The large villages and the high density of population were appropriate only to a victorious military society, relying for at least part of its subsistence on raided crops and beasts produced outside its borders and for the rest on the maximum exploitation of the land inside them. When its enemies had been plundered and its own lands exhausted, it moved on. We can infer from Angus and from Sharpe, who wrote of 'entirely open' country,[144] that within the settled area most of the cultivable land was in use at the same time. Yet in many parts of the Fort Jameson area the soil is now exhausted after five years under maize and must be left for twenty-five years

[141] Angus, 'Northern Angoniland', p. 78; Deare, 'Slave raiders', 27 April and 11 May; Read, 'Tradition', p. 475, fn. 2; Genthe, 'Mpezeni's', p. 1.
[142] Selby, memorandum dated 10 March 1901.
[143] Ibid., fn. 339.
[144] Sharpe, 'Lake Nyasa', p. 343. For Angus, see pp. 104f.

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After the war an age-set was formed but its activities conflicted with the demands of the churches and schools and it was not a success. No further attempts have been made to carry on the system. Ngoni now say, 'What need have we of regiments now that there are no other tribes for us to fight?'

2. *White control*

Apart from the squabble over cattle, the surrender of Mpezeni on 9 February 1898 marked the end of the Ngoni war. The Nyasaland troops did not pursue the leaders who fled, although Brake moved Mpezeni to the vicinity of Fort Manning. In May he wrote, perhaps over-optimistically, that in the central part of Ngoniland rebuilding had begun.[7]

It is clear that at first the Ngoni acquiesced in their defeat. Whereas prior to the war Whites had lived in their country on sufferance, now their right to be there was not challenged. Only a few months after the war Harding arrived, recruiting police for service in Southern Rhodesia. He was received in a 'most friendly manner by the chief in charge who gave an ocular demonstration of his loyalty by voluntarily and immediately handing over to my charge 200 of his young men for my newly formed Police Force...'.[8] After the death of Mpezeni I, his lieutenants waited the traditional period of a year. Mpezeni's heir Nsingu and his wife Mkucwa had both been shot during the war, and in September 1901 the lieutenants petitioned the Administration to appoint their eldest son, Ciloa, aged about 10 years, as chief. On 23 July 1903 the Native Commissioner held a meeting at which Madzimawi, son of Mpezeni I in the residue of segment 4, asked to be allowed to take the name Zwangendaba.[9] Thus even at that early date the over-riding authority of the Administration was acknowledged in matters concerning the chieftainship.

The establishment of an Administration based on Fort Jameson in 1898 was governed, in so far as the British legal system was concerned, by the legislation consolidated in the Foreign Jurisdiction Act 1890.[10] Relations between the Administration and its African subjects were controlled by the Africa Order in Council 1889.[11] This was superseded by later Orders in 1900, 1911 and 1924,[12] marking the delimitation of North-Eastern Rhodesia as a separate

[7] 158; see, fn. 69.
[8] Harding, *For Empire*, p. 82.
[9] *Reports on the Administration*, 1900-2, p. 408; see pp. 139ff.
[10] 53 & 54 Vict., c. 37.
[11] *S.R. & O.*, Rev., 1890, iii, pp. 259-332.
[12] *S.R. & O.*, 85 of 1900, 456 of 1911 and 324 of 1924.

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539 726 he had danced before all the sections he began to call '*Uyevwa, uti, Aiyima ngito*', 'Do you hear? Stand to arms.' Immediately section by section got up and rushed forward with noise and whistling deafening the ears. The warriors stood in crowds near the stockade and almost surrounding it. When the army was small, they stood in the shape of a young crescent moon. While they did so, they were blowing their horns and whistling to drown the noise in the stockade.

Very soon the message was heard: '*Utsho njalo yena, uti, Aniqwelewe*', 'Thus it is said, let the bulls fight.' On these words the warriors ran at the stockade with one heart and a noise like wind and the country was filled with the tread of their feet. For a short time there would sometimes be silence, then a shout would be heard from a section: '*Ngingu pakati: buti loko*', 'I am inside: I of such and such a village.' The man who was first in the stockade would name his village. Then there would be heard, '*Nginawe, nmakweto*', 'I am with you, comrade.' All the *isiedusa* and warriors fought in their own sections but once the army was inside they began to ask for the name of the first man in and those who had been near gave the name of the heroes. So each *induna* knew all about what had happened in his own section before he met the war *induna*, and when the latter reported to the Paramount at home he could tell everything.

Return from war

539 727 Long ago all that was found in the village or stockade (goats, sheep and cattle) belonged of right to the man who had entered first. That was easy when they sent only one company to the attack. All the other things belonged to the finder. Afterwards when all the warriors went to the attack together, it was difficult to distinguish who had got in first and so the spoils went to the man who reached them first. The Paramount had [643] his portion of everything taken. Outside the stockade those who had taken cattle put aside two or three which they said were *amahlomu enkosi*, the first taste to the Paramount.

On the return all who had dipped their spears in the blood of their enemies carried what the killed had been wearing and their weapons or bows. If a man had killed a woman he wore her things (that is her ornaments, bark-cloth, etc.). These things were done to fulfil a taboo. When [783] the end of the time of purification came, all those things that were worthless were thrown away or burned, but the beautiful things were kept. Only the very old people wore the clothes of the killed.

When the army was on the way home it looked for bones of animals and burned them and ground them fine like flour, and also made charcoal dust. On the day of arrival some flour was kneaded and bone dust and the charcoal dust each by itself. They painted themselves on the face and on the body. This custom was to show those who had speared an enemy in the fight.

When the army was near their own country the war *induna* chose some messengers to go and give the news of the fighting and the names of those who had been killed. These messengers went to the important *isiedusa*, and from them the news went quickly to the Paramount, headmen, and elders. The women were not told quietly; even if a man knew that his son

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had been killed it was not permitted to show his grief before the army had returned and mobilised in the kraal. 539 727

When the sections marched back to the village the first sections to go out to war came last and the one that had been last now led the way. The army never entered the Paramount's village in the afternoon but in the morning or before midday. They did this because it took a long time to tell all the news of the war, so if the army arrived near the village in the afternoon they slept in grass-shelters outside.

When the army was ready to enter, the sections were set in order, each one told off to follow another and each one chose its own song for the entry. When they sang the warriors covered their heads with their shields, with their spears in the middle of the shields. While they were singing one warrior of the section would jump out in front and dance his own praise-dance and the others let him; when he had fallen into the ranks again, they took up the section-song. The songs sung at the entry to the kraal were called *imikubo*. These were different from *igubo* for they were sung by mouth only, whereas a *igubo* was sung with stamping of the feet. [539]

When the warriors marched on the cattle track there was heard a confused noise of singing and shouting praises. All the warriors marched very slowly as they sang, section by section but crowding together. When they came close to the gateway they stood and waited to let those who had not blooded their spears have their dance out, because once inside only the 'killers' might dance before the Paramount and the headmen. When they stood they were as though the kraal were built of men but they left a space in the middle for the Paramount and headmen to sit and watch. For a little time the warriors danced their own praise-dances and these were chiefly those whose bravery was well known.

After these had danced a little there was a shout for silence, and all kept silent waiting for the words of the war *indoda*. He came out from the throng and began to dance while all the warriors responded to his war-cry or praise-names. After he had finished he began to tell the story. He began by saying that in such and such a section, so and so had been first to enter the stockade, or to throw a spear first which killed a man inside. In all the sections he went over those whose names had been taken by the *isinduna*; if he forgot anything or the name of a 'killer' he went and asked the *induna* of the section to help him. Whenever he mentioned a name, the warrior jumped forward and danced so as to be known to the Paramount and all the men. Then the Paramount and the headmen chose one of themselves to reply and thank the army; sometimes it was the chief *induna*. Before he began he also danced a little, then spoke praising or blaming. After he had finished he danced again and sat down among his peers. This the Ngoni called *ukubonisela impi*, thanking in respect for the army.

Demobilisation and purification

When all was finished in the kraal the warriors scattered and went to their villages to take off all their war equipment and to put their shields on the *ngulowa*, the resting place or bedstead of shields. Then they sat down by their big house and were greeted by their wives, parents, children and friends. The custom was the same as that on the birth of a child, the

salutation being '*Amahle amabiyo*', 'Eyes are white', or '*Beyond*', '*Return*', along with the clan name. The answer was '*Yebo*' also with the clan name. This was the custom in the houses where there had been no death. The warriors of a village where there had been a death, either in the village or killed in war, took off their equipment on leaving the kraal and went to the houses of mourning.

The warriors' sections went to the head villages of their districts to tell the news and show themselves. Those of Ekwendeni there; of Ezhiguthiweni there; of Elangeni there; of Emcisweni there; but the sections from the villages of the *amakanda* went together first of all to show themselves to the head villages and then went to their own villages. After the army had broken up, those who had killed a man or had helped to kill a man began a purification of four or five days for they were considered to be unclean. After the time of greetings in the village, the elders came with the bark of certain trees which had been ground or crushed and put it in a frying pan. The frying pan was put on three hearth-stones by the fire, and water poured on. When the water began to boil the men came and began to 'lick the medicine', first one hand and then the other. The first lick they spat out, then they swallowed some, and struck their palms on their knees and on their elbows. They jumped from side to side of the frying pan and as they did so, they said '*Pv*'. This was said to drive away the spirits of the enemies whom they had killed because they were afraid that they might come to trouble them in sleep at night.

Very early in the morning they went to the river to wash off the paint, but they still wore the clothes of the man killed. This showed they were still being purified. They did not live with their wives or touch their children. When they returned from the river they tried to repeat the words they had heard their enemies say. Back in the village they took more of their medicine from the frying pan saying '*Pv*'. After that they rubbed themselves all over with lime wash.

On the last day they went to the river again but when they had bathed they burned all they were wearing, or hung them in trees. Only the good things were left: cloth, ivory bracelets, bows and spears. The clothes of the killed they gave to the old people to wear. If wives did not take off the paint on their bodies they rubbed on fat from cattle. Then the days of taboo were completed, they were considered to be clean, and could live with their wives and hold their children.

The decoration of horns

After the warriors had been sent to the villages a short time passed, then they were called again together to dance the *Igubu*. On that day bulls were chosen to be killed for the army. Each section received a bull and it was killed by the horn of the section. While it was being skinned and cooked all the companies were dancing. When the meat was cooked and taken off the fire all the army was hushed with eating it, each company by itself. When they had eaten the warriors began to get up one by one to dance and leap before their Paramount. Then the horns of the sections were presented with the horns of the bull killed for the section. The horns had had holes bored so that bark-rope could be drawn through and they

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721/175/648 defeated an alliance between the Arabs and the Bemba in which the allies intended to dominate all the territory between the Luangwa river and the lake-shore, driving the Ngoni from their highlands and opening all the country to the slave-trade. In the central kingdom, during the interregnum after Cikusi's death in 1891, a powerful Yao chief raided the kingdom, destroyed six villages and took many captives. In both kingdoms it was necessary for the Ngoni to defend their independence by constant vigilance and preparedness, especially against a combination of Arab slave-raiders and local tribes. Since large numbers of warriors were mobilised every year, these trained armies demanded an outlet, and the policy of aggression served the dual purpose of raiding enemy territory and maintaining a defence force.

727 There was a difference of opinion among informants about the results of raids in terms of spoils of war. In both kingdoms captives were taken in war, especially young men of military age and women. From tsetse-free areas where cattle were to be found, live beasts were brought to add to the herds in the Paramount's village and in those of the chiefs and *akamnumna*. Ivory for trading and cloth for wearing were two of the most valued forms of booty, and Cibumbo mentioned the looting of clothes and weapons from those who had been killed. From accounts by the first Europeans, it is clear that the Ngoni burned the villages and killed the inhabitants in the majority of their later raids.

721/182 If defensive and aggressive military action and the acquisition of valued forms of wealth were two of the main objectives in war, a third was undoubtedly the need to build up a national sentiment within the military kingdoms by success in warfare in the first place, and by intensive training of all young men in the second, thus integrating the youth from conquered units with those who belonged to the trans-Zambesi clans. Again and again, in talking about their past, Ngoni informants from the Paramounts downwards emphasised the discipline and training of the young men in the days of warfare, and expressed their opinion that no other training could take its place. It was not only the common military training which contributed to this national sentiment and held the Ngoni together in a common purpose of preparedness for warfare. The *libuto* or age set within the *likundla* or territorial unit, and the *impi* or national army in which the territorial units were merged, provided a military organisation which was adaptable and balanced, and which, through the control of the Paramount, gave the main impetus to centralisation, while encouraging pride and initiative among local and age-set groups.

The relics of a military tradition

648 In north Nyasaland the Ngoni never fought against the Europeans, and were not coerced into giving up warfare, but, as a result of their contacts with the Livingstonia Mission, they finally agreed to give it up voluntarily. When Dr. Laws met the Commissioner near Mponda's at

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group consisted of himself and the mother and her children, including her daughters only until they married.

The affinal element in a house consisted of the other wives associated with the owner of the house as co-wives, and the wives of the sons of the owner. Both the kinship group and the affinal group were bound together by their rights in the cattle of the herd which was known as 'the cattle of the house of X'. From that herd were taken cattle for the *lobola* of the wives married after the house was founded, and for the wives of the sons and adopted sons of the house. Into that herd came the cattle received for the marriages of the daughters belonging to the house and the gift cattle sent to wives by their fathers after marriage. When the *lobola* had been fully paid up for a daughter of the house, then her relationship with it ceased and she was thenceforth known as belonging to her husband's mother's house.

Associated with the house in the villages of the Paramounts, the chiefs and the leading *abamumana* were two other groups of people. One was the *induna* appointed 'to take care of the house' and his family. In the 1930's the *induna* was in charge of the cattle and of the many activities connected with the house, including the organisation of male labour in hut-building, in kraal construction and in cultivation; he was consulted by the male members of the house about the selling of cattle and the use of the goods accumulated in the house. The other group associated with the house in pre-European days consisted of captives taken in war and allocated to the house who worked as labourers. The servants who worked for a house in the 1930's assisted with cooking, beer-making and minding the children, and they had huts near that of the owner of the house to which they belonged, placed on the right- or left-hand side of the kraal according to their affiliation with the big house or the second house. Informants said that in the past such association with a house included giving a beast from the herd of the house for the marriage of a servant. The *induna*, through the marriage of his daughters, built up his own herd, which he frequently kept at first with the cattle of the house in the main kraal, later building his own kraal.

A new house began when a man married his big wife. Although at first he built her a hut at the back of his mother's hut in his father's village, as soon as he moved out to his new village after his father's death, the big wife's hut had the next most important site in the kraal after that of the *indlunkulu*, and the second wife had the third place of importance. In some of the larger villages of the central kingdom, the custom of moving out into a new village after the death of the former owner had been given up, partly because of pressure on the land. The house grouping in relation to the siting of huts then became very complex, but the pattern was nevertheless discernible. The two sections under the big house and the *gqo* house, which had formerly divided into two villages, continued to exist together, and at Mzakhatha this dual

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emphasized this, and was a reminder of their careful bringing up in their father's village surrounded by their attendant girls and older women.

[533] Many of the *umuindo* songs referred to well-known events in Ngoni history. Others were warnings against jealousy when living in a polygynous household. One of these, said to be a lament of the women about the difficulties of polygynous households, was very popular in the northern kingdom and was used by Ngoni ministers in the churches when speaking against polygamy, even though the actual words of the song seemed to be referring to a historical event.

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The boys and girls went through one common ceremony about the age of seven, when their second teeth were coming. The local tribes practised various forms of scarification, including facial tribal markings. The Ngoni never did this in the past and said that they despised it. Their distinctive marking was the piercing of the ear lobes in order to insert a small piece of reed, or a stud, or some beads. Formerly, when captives were taken in war, or when a village was conquered and annexed, the local people, especially the younger men, were forced to have their ears pierced as a condition of service in the regiments. After the Europeans came, the forcible ear-piercing was resisted by the local tribes, but among the Ngoni, especially those of trans-Zambesi clans, it continued to be practised, and I saw it being carried out in several villages. It was done in the dry cold-weather months, usually by one of the senior women of the children's family or house, and included all the children of about the same age who wanted to have their ears pierced. The woman pierced the lobe with a thorn, or a needle if she had one, and threaded some cotton through the hole. A day or so later they put in tiny bits of grass and replaced these with larger and larger bits until the hole was considered the right size.

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After this ear-piercing ceremony, the boys' and girls' groups developed on their separate lines until their members became interested in each other as members of the opposite sex. Then, as I said at the beginning of the chapter, the groups of youths and girls were the two most prominent age groups in a village. They paid great attention to their clothes, washed with sweet-smelling leaves, used fats to anoint their hair, and the girls wore bead ornaments in their hair and on neck and wrists. Thus adorned, they spent their leisure time, especially in the cold weather after harvest, visiting other villages, usually in separate groups of youths and girls, except when they went as a team to dance *ngoma* in a neighbouring village.

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In the social life of young people in Ngoni villages, the *ngoma* dance played an important part, especially in the northern kingdom. It took place after the harvest and was organized on a 'village team' basis. The boys practised their dance outside the cattle kraal in the evenings, and the girls did their dancing by themselves as a rule. But on the occasion

then meant running out of the compound to the freedom of the village. At that time young children might behave outrageously and be punished for it, but they were not held accountable. The nurse girls and the mother, or some other adult, was blamed for letting the child grow up with such an uncontrolled temper or appetite or tongue. Once children were recognized as having passed the young child stage, that is when they had their second teeth, they themselves were held accountable for their behaviour and punished more severely, even though parents were also blamed for careless upbringing. The social sanctions of rebuke and ridicule, which began to operate in the later years of young childhood to only a limited extent, were now seen in their full force, made use of by adults, and still more effectively by the children's own age-mates. The fear of estrangement, of social ostracism as the penalty for failing to conform to the required manners and ways of living, had increasing force as the children grew older. As little children they were buttressed and protected by adults in their childish quarrels with, and moods and attitudes towards, other children. As boys in the dormitory and as girls in the girls' circle they had no longer such protection, and the result was that they became increasingly sensitive to the opinion of their peers. Professor Wilson in her study of Nyakusa age-villages, has called this social awareness the quality known as 'being good company'—getting on well with their contemporaries.

It was at this stage, at the beginning of the children's newly-found independence, that the ear-piercing ceremony took place. In contrast with the neighbouring peoples, the Ngoni had no facial or body markings, and it was the pierced ears which showed they were true Ngoni. In the days of warfare, captives, especially boys and men, were forcibly made to have their ears pierced, and hence a number of men in the Ngoni kingdoms who were not of Ngoni clans were found with pierced ears. Sometimes their children went to their parents and said, 'We want to be made Ngoni now.'

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[P.1]

CHAPTER I

MARRIAGE IN THE TIME OF PEACE

1. *The old social structure*

IN THE DAYS before the European conquest, the Ngoni people lived in large villages each containing hundreds of huts built round a central cattle byre. Each married woman had her own hut and there were separate dormitories for boys and for girls. The huts were grouped into small clusters, each containing the dwellings of a few close agnates with their wives and children under the leadership of the senior male agnate. If the leader of the cluster was an important person, captives taken in war were allocated to him and their huts were included in his own cluster. Clusters were grouped into divisions, each usually under the control of a village lieutenant. Within the same division the heads of clusters were either agnates of the lieutenant or were people who had been captured by him or his father or who had been allocated to him by the chief and who were therefore bound to him as quasi-kinsmen. Several divisions made up a village under a headman or a regional governor. The village lieutenants were dependents or former captives of the headman or his ancestors, and were allocated to their divisions by him. Some divisions were under the control of junior kinsmen of the headman. Each village was attached to a royal headquarters where there was a senior queen. This arrangement of clusters, divisions, villages, and royal headquarters, which I refer to as the residential system, seems to have been similar to that found to-day among the Swazi.[1]

The system was a growing one. Brothers brought up in the same cluster gradually achieved their independence and split off to establish clusters of their own. The heads of clusters grew in importance and were promoted to village lieutenants so that their clusters became divisions, while divisions grew too large to be contained within the villages and moved off to establish themselves as separate villages. This process of expansion did not in itself affect the formal hierarchy of authority. The lieutenant who established his own village as a distinct spatial entity still remained a lieutenant of his lord, and deferred to him in matters of importance. The same word[2] was used to refer to a division of a royal headquarters, a division of a village, and a cluster within a division. The relationships of superordination and subordination between persons remained the same despite changes in spatial separation.

[1] Cf. Kuper, *An African Aristocracy*, p. 98.

[2] *Cigawo*, pl. *zigawo*, from *ku-gawa*, to divide.

4: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1951 FR5 Ngoni FR5
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Succession to office within this system was from a man to his eldest son by his great wife. A man inherited from his father not only his father's dependents but also his father's political superiors. The segments of the system, although some of them had special names, could all be referred to by the name of the person in charge of each segment. The heir succeeded to the name of his father and to responsibility for the segment named after his father. New people came into the system in two ways: by birth and by capture. Captives were placed in the system by decree of the Paramount Chief and his regional governors. The function of marriage was, in this context, to locate children in the system unambiguously and uniquely.

Two systems of relationships set up ties which cut across the lines of the residential system. These were the military regimental system of age-sets and the bilateral kinship system. In this paper we shall be concerned only incidentally with the regimental system, in so far as it directly affected marriage. We are, however, concerned with the kinship system, and in particular with the relationship of husband and wife. By careful choice of wives for himself and his sons a man ensured that his own group of agnates was linked to many other agnatic groups by bonds of affinity and, in the next generation, of matrilateral kinship.

It is from this point of view that we can best approach the analysis of marriage as it was in 'the time of peace'. Marriage arrangements then worked in conjunction with the residential system which is now in decay and it is not surprising that the replacement of the old system by a new one has been accompanied by changes in the kinds of marriage entered into by Ngoni men and women.

2. *Fidelity and fertility*

The old Ngoni residential system had much in common with the Zulu and Swazi systems and there was much in common in the realm of marriage. Marriage involved a permanent transfer of the fertility of the woman to the man's group. The children of a man's wife fell entirely within his own segment of the system, so that political ties became coincident with lineage ties. But while marriage secured for a man legitimate descendents with whom to people his own segment, it also established ties of affection and obligation which cut across the cleavage lines of the residential system. A man and his affines were linked in a specific relationship, entailing definite rights in division in the marriage, validated by the transfer of cattle and made permanent by the birth of children. The rites of marriage affirmed the transfer of the woman's fertility, the agnatic affiliation of her children, and the rights and obligations of affines towards one another. This pattern is common to many peoples organized patrilineally. Nevertheless, some of the characteristics of highly developed agnatic systems, such as ghost marriage, the marriage of wives by a woman, and the marriage of a queen with cattle contributed by the whole nation, were not found among the Ngoni.

583 was left to the discretion of her father. 'Snuff-box' was handed over before the man began to sleep with his bride while bridewealth could be paid either then or later after the woman had borne children. Once bridewealth had been paid the rights of the man's group were definitely established and, in the event of the man's death, one of [581] his younger brothers became the widow's pro-husband in leviratic marriage.

583 The significance of bridewealth is clearly indicated by the procedure 851 followed in marriages in which it was not paid. If a man paid 'snuff-box' and then died before he paid bridewealth, the children of the marriage belonged to his wife's kinsmen and not to his kinsmen. His brothers could secure the woman as the wife of one of them, and the children as legitimate members of their segment, by payment of bridewealth. It is said that a woman could refuse to go to a brother of her dead husband under these conditions but that she could not refuse to give up the children to the husband's kinsman who paid bridewealth. If although bridewealth had been paid she went off and married another unrelated man the children she bore to her new husband belonged to her dead husband's kin.

583 Some informants say that if a man died without having paid bridewealth his sons were under an obligation to pay cattle to their mother's kin on behalf of their dead father, but I did not hear of any instance in which this had been done. Similarly it is said that if a man had paid bridewealth but had never been given a linked co-wife, his son could claim a wife from the kin of the woman for whom bridewealth had been handed over. Other informants deny this possibility, and say that it was the man's son's son who could have made this claim. I did not hear of any instances of either practice in the past and when recently a chief tried to claim a wife on the strength of bridewealth offered by his father, he failed.

[927] Important men sometimes married female captives and no [954] bridewealth passed. These wives were usually not of high status and their sons founded lines junior to those of sons by other wives for whom bridewealth had been paid.

583 The general impression gained from the tales of old informants 183 and from the contemporary literature is that 'snuff-box' and bridewealth were paid in most marriages. The evidence, such as it is, from a survey of the marriages experienced since birth by men and women alive in 1946-9 suggests that this was not so. The way in which this survey was conducted is described below.[13] The [128] information on pre-1898 marriages is set out in Tables I and II.

It will be seen that in half (7 out of 14) of these marriages, no payments at all were offered. In the marriage in which 'snuff-box' was [278] offered it consisted not of a beast but of a quantity of tobacco. In about a third of the marriages the only payment made was the 'legalization payment', which traditionally was not part of the pre-1898

[13] See pp. 221.

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CHAPTER V

SYNCHRONIC AND DIACHRONIC ANALYSIS

1. Old and new marriage

WE HAVE described marriage at two periods in Ngoni history, as it was in the 1890's and as it is now. The differences we have found between the two periods are not due to chance except in the sense in which we may speak of all historical incidents as being partly due to chance and partly determined by the limiting conditions imposed by the past. Changes in the field of Ngoni marriage have been paralleled by changes in other aspects of Ngoni social life, have been influenced by other changes and have in turn influenced them. Throughout Ngoni history men and women have always married, but the society in which they married has changed. Marriage in the time of peace was appropriate, more or less, to the general ordering of social life in those days, and modern marriage is appropriate, again more or less, to the social structure of today.

Our task is then a threefold one. We have to show the relationship between old marriage and the rest of the old society, a similar relationship between modern marriage and modern society, and the process by which the transition from one set of conditions to the other has come about. We have outlined in Chapter II some of the internal and external factors responsible for this transition, and the nature of the material available to us on the 1890 period has led us, in Chapter I, to describe the old system largely in analytic terms. In this chapter we shall attempt to clarify our picture of the past in the light of an analysis of modern marriage.

In the old days the residential system provided the framework for political and lineage ties. Marriage was a legitimate means whereby children were recruited into segments of the system. Marriage involved a permanent transfer of fertility from the woman's kin to her husband's kin. Adultery was punishable by death, and divorce was rare. Affinal ties cut across the cleavage lines of the residential system, but while these ties were important, a man could not transfer his allegiance to his wife's or to his mother's group. A man who quarrelled with his kinsmen could not move to another village to live, but could only hive off to form a dependent but recognizable cluster of his own, which still remained part of the same residential segment.

The material apparatus belonging to the system, that is, the great villages with hundreds of huts and central cattle byres, was to a large extent destroyed in 1898 by the British. A few important people in the system were killed, and many of the cattle looted. With the establishment of British rule, it was physically possible for the

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have been discussing it. Divorce took place because the man, a recently captured Kunda, ran away back to his former tribe leaving his wife, daughter of one of Mpezeni's lieutenants, behind in her father's village. In 'the time of peace' marriages were stable, with or without payment. The wealthy men were the politically important men, and indeed Wiese's assertion that men married off their daughters so as to gain the maximum number of cattle[1] may be based on the behaviour of socially ambitious fathers in what was largely an upward-mobile society. Political affiliation effected by marriage was ratified by a transfer of wealth appropriate to its importance in the general field of political and social relations. Divorce frequency and kinship structure were the same for rich and poor, aristocrats and captives, and were neutral factors in determining the amount of marriage payment.

The second phase began immediately after the war of 1898 and lasted until about 1930. At the beginning of this period the tribe as a whole was poorer than it has been before or since. Many cattle were looted in the war and for a long time there was little money in circulation. The majority of marriages without payment were contracted during this phase, and it seems reasonable to associate this in part with the poverty of the people. It is difficult to make any precise estimate of divorce frequency at this time, although we know that many Cewa and Nsenga women who had been married before 1898 deserted their husbands and returned home when British control was established. There does not seem to be any evidence for supposing that at this period women moved from one husband to another within the confines of the Ngoni kingdom more quickly than they do now. It is perhaps safe to say that the low level of payments was due partly to poverty but also partly to the general uncertainty about the future, about the kind of society which the White Administration was building for the Ngoni. Evans-Pritchard has stressed that 'It is morals that censure divorce and law that refuses to recognize grounds for divorce which ensure the stability of the union of husband and wife.'[2] The laws and moral code that had been enforced by the old chieftainship had been shaken by the defeat of 1898. The payment of bridewealth had defined legitimate expectations of behaviour, obligations and rights, within an organized system of social relations which had been shattered. While many Ngoni must still have regarded marriage with payment of bridewealth as morally right and desirable, they must also have been aware of the greatly increased risk they were running when making these payments, even if they had the cattle to make them. Rights *in uxorem* and *in genetricem* which were socially recognized but could not be enforced through the machinery of the State were hardly

[1] See above, p. 3, footnote 3.
[2] Evans-Pritchard, 'Social character of bride-wealth, with special reference to the Azande', *Man*, xxxiv (1934), p. 174.

within about four months of purchase, the money is refunded, unless it is shown that the owner is to blame. In the case of a sheep or goat, this period is reduced to about six weeks.

It is not the custom to hire out cattle, either for ploughing, or for milk. If a cow brings forth twin calves together, she and her offspring are presented to the headman, as the cow is supposed to be an exceptionally good one; and the headman in return hands over three other animals of similar age.

V.—Social Organization: Military.

1. *Preparations for War.*

The Ngoni expeditions against the Achewa consisted principally of raids at times when the crops were ripening and they were short of food. At such times the young warriors who thirsted for war signified their desire by dancing outside the house of the chief. After they had danced for three evenings, the chief fixed a day, food was prepared, and warriors were summoned from the neighbouring villages. The *sing'anga* made medicine to protect them against the weapons of their enemies, and as the army filed past him, he dipped a hammer into the medicine; and struck each man on the chest with it. The best-known *sing'anga* under Chief Chiwere was Chimunga, and his name is still held in veneration.

2. *Methods.*

The Angoni usually came upon their foe unawares, and attacked with a rush. If they met with a stout resistance from a stockaded village, they surrounded it and camped till lack of water forced the besieged to sally forth. Quarter was rarely given to the men.

3. *Subsequent Proceedings.*

On their return, all who had killed a man repaired immediately to the *sing'anga* who mixed medicine with goats' milk. The warriors dipped their fingers in the mixture and put them into their mouths. Then they dipped again into the mixture, and rubbed it on their arms and legs, after which they stood up and shouted "O-o-o!" This form of purification was undergone in order to drive away the *chimanda* or affliction which they would otherwise suffer from the spirits of their dead enemies, and until they were cleansed they might not have any connexion with women. Next day, they burned goats' horns, pounded them and mixed them in water, smearing the mixture first on cheeks and throat and then over the remainder of their persons. After this they proceeded to their homes and, having decorated themselves, displayed their reasonable pride by jumping about before the chief, who sent for a bull to be cooked and eaten. Prisoners were paraded, and when a man had taken three or more, one of them was always returned to him by the chief.

8: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949) 1951 FRS Ngoni FRS

181 that the defeat of 1898 is important. Although they claim to have conquered
186 all their African neighbours, Ngoni do not claim success over the British.
Instead, defeat at the hands of the British is cited in explanation of every
648 present-day failure and of every departure from traditional practice. Ngoni
186 say, "If we had not been defeated we would not have lost our land and we
would not now go hungry"; and "If we had not been defeated the tribes
would not have been mixed up and we could follow our customs properly";
and so on. In the past, captives taken by the Ngoni were rapidly indoctrinated
[929] with Ngoni ways and themselves became proud Ngoni; Ngoni complain
that now, although captured by Europeans, they never become Europeans.

538 The general legends of the past from which these notions are derived are
814 common knowledge. In the main they are passed on orally and are maintained by the teaching of tribal history in schools, the appeals to old military traditions, when recruiting for the Northern Rhodesia Regiment, the conversations of planters comparing one tribe with another as labourers, by the reports of administrators and by the writings of ethnologists.

643 The link between the Ngoni of today and their illustrious forebears is also
181 symbolized in the office of the Paramount Chief. He bears the name of his
[551] warrior great-grandfather, and the formal aspects of his relationship to his people are explained by reference to his ancestors' achievements. He cannot attend funerals or take part in some of his own marriage ceremonies because "he has already conquered all others"; he cannot be expected to walk through the bush with the District Officer because "he has already conquered the whole world". He basks in his great-grandfather's invincibility, for in this context the defeat of 1898 is forgotten. The relationship between the Paramount Chief and his eleven minor chiefs is partly determined by the distribution of power in different branches of the royal lineage before the European conquest, and the division of the country into these minor chiefdoms is a visible reminder of that distribution.

829 Associated with these tales of military exploits and royal power are myths
178 about former customs. Ngoni say that in the old days they used to hunt, or marry, or build villages, in a particular way and that now they do differently. Frequently when I asked what happened in such-and-such a situation I would be told what my informant thought would have happened before 1898 rather
[958] than what he had seen happen now. Thus if we ask what payments do Ngoni make in marriage we are told that there are two payments, "snuff-box" and bridewealth, consisting of one or more beasts. Further inquiry reveals that these payments are now made only infrequently and that the period referred to is before 1898. More detailed investigation suggests that in many pre-1898 marriages they were not made and that when they were made they did not always consist of beasts. Ngoni do not deny these facts but they do deny their relevance. To them the distinctively Ngoni way of marrying is with these two payments, and it is this process alone which merits the vernacular adjective—*cingoni*. They regret that people no longer marry in this way and

conquer the Germans as they conquered us.' The Ngoni are by no means unaware of white political antagonism and questioned me closely about present day relations between English and Germans, and between English and Dutch in South Africa. Though they have seen from their own observation that modern warfare as practised by Europeans is entirely different from warfare as they knew it, they are nevertheless interested in war to-day as an 'instrument of national policy'.

It is from this angle that the Ngoni in Mpezeni's country regard the 'war' between them and the British in 1898. It was a trial of strength; they were defeated by superior power.[1] When the Ngoni tell the story of this war they make it clear that just as they had defeated the other tribes with their superior weapons, so it was British superiority in weapons which won the day, because their machine-guns were used with deadly force on the Ngoni warriors. The version of the fighting current in the villages was told me many times, always with a note of awe and horror at the unexpected and overwhelming catastrophe. When the British punitive force camped outside Mpezeni's kraal, the Ngoni war *indeva* sent to ask if they were ready to fight. The reply was, 'Wait, the *Azungu* are eating'. Another later messenger brought back word that the *Azungu* had finished breakfast and were ready, and the companies sallied out, and the machine-guns were arranged facing the kraal exit. Then the Ngoni warriors sprang out, holding their shields before them, and were met by a hail of fire from the machine-guns. To their horror they found their invincible shields were no longer a protection. Many fell, the rest fled, and the huge village[2] was looted and burned. 'The *Azungu* war was too strong', is the way they invariably end this often repeated tale.

Overwhelming though this military catastrophe was, to the Ngoni it is the events preceding and following the 'war' on which they dwell, when in the villages they speak of this period of white contact. 'We are not ashamed for the war', they say, 'We are ashamed for losing our cattle and our land'. They tell to this day how a certain Carl Weise, a German, came up from Portuguese East Africa trading,[3]

[1] In the Report of Justice Maughan on the North Charterland Inquiry he says, 'It was a remarkably well-managed little war and the Ngoni accepted their defeat in good spirit like other Bantu races'.

[2] Over 3 miles across. [3] in 1885.

in the villages to-day, they do it by going over and over the events of those fateful years 1885–1898, from the first arrival of Weise up to the Ngoni war, in the vain hope of finding a satisfactory explanation of the connexion between Weise, the British South Africa Company, the North Charterland Company, and the British Crown. They give correct and precise details of the various Europeans who came to old Mpezeni's kraal seeking concessions, and finding the old chief adamant about signing away any concessions. 'Weise was his friend. Then came Weise's brother. He began to take money for our huts. Then Singu (Mpezeni's heir) became angry. Then they said, "We are Charterland" and Mpezeni refused: "I have given no promise to Charterland." Then came the *Anzegu* war.'

I have given the foregoing events in detail because they are facts of history both to the Ngoni and the British, and necessary for understanding the present attitude of the Ngoni to white people. The Ngoni have given me their version again and again, always the same in substance, and always with the same emphasis, first on the refusal of Sir Harry Johnston and the British South Africa Company to recognize Mpezeni as the rightful chief in the land, and secondly on the treachery of Weise which delivered them into the hands of the North Charterland Company. Nor was the defeat in war their final humiliation. Singu, Mpezeni's heir, was taken and shot together with his wives; half the cattle of the Ngoni were taken as 'rightful loot'; and the North Charterland Company began assigning farms to Europeans in their tract. Six years later old Mpezeni died, leaving his grandson, a comparatively young boy, as his successor. On the old *indunas* and other sons of old Mpezeni fell the burden of guiding the young *inkosi* and carrying on the political and legal machinery subject to European administration.[1] At the same time fundamental economic changes were taking place. Settlers were arriving to acquire land and demand labour. The country was gradually parcelled out into European farms and native reserves, not without prolonged ill-feeling on both sides.[2] With the opportunity to work for wages came a demand for taxes to cover the costs of administration, and this demand in its turn made many men go out of the territory in search of better paid work in Southern Rhodesia and the Union.

[1] Under British South Africa Company till 1924.

[2] See North Charterland Inquiry.

10: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949) 1959
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64 charged by him with specific functions relating to the State as a whole, and appear to have exercised general jurisdiction. Other lieutenants were known as the lieutenants of such-and-such a royal village, and were appointed by Mpezeni to look after the queens of the village and to be responsible for the internal ordering of the village.

In addition to these lieutenants each important person had a deputy,[1] who was a patrilineal kinsman of the same generation. Each new holder of the principal office selected his own deputy. The deputy's task was to act for his principal in his absence and to serve as an intermediary between the principal and his lieutenants.

[611] All these posts were hereditary in the agnatic line, except for that
[558] of deputy, but new posts were continually being created and the holders of other posts fell into disgrace. Some of the lieutenants of Mpezeni were also headmen of their own villages, while other lieutenants were promoted to be regional governors.

631 Increase in population led to increase in the number of villages and
178 of recognizable divisions within villages, both by divisional fission and
161 by the setting up of separate establishments for groups of wives. This process, operating in response to population pressure from below, was assisted from above by the need to give newly created lieutenants and governors their own dependants and their own recognizable residential cluster.

631 The relative position and importance of a segment of the political
641 structure might alter if its leader was killed in battle or if he offended the Paramount. For example, a certain lieutenant who had a village of his own committed adultery with one of Mpezeni's queens. He was
[684] put to death, and all his followers were made to come and live in a
641 royal village. But in addition to the natural increase in the population
727 of any segment, new members were added by capture in war. There
563 was never any distinct class of slaves or captives in the Ngoni State.
[567] Apart from the aristocratic families which traced their history back to the pre-migration period in Natal, the rest of the tribe had been either captured at one time or other on the way north, or had joined the Ngoni of their own volition. On capture, people were assigned to some or other important person, and after a while acquired a certain
563 autonomy of their own. The men were all enrolled into the age-set
641 regiment appropriate to their age, and it was possible for them to rise
701 to high positions in the State. No distinction of ethnic origin was

[1] *Mawu*, pl. *awawu*. Cf. the Zulu term *umawu*, younger brother who is next to the heir.

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The councillors and assessors are nominated by the chiefs on the advice of their lieutenants and some of them are in fact lieutenants or their sons. The court clerk acts as secretary to his chief if he is literate, and he assists the chief in his contacts with the Administration. These clerks are also sometimes sons of lieutenants or brothers of chiefs. One of the tasks of the court clerk is to issue licences of all kinds, for guns, beer selling, bicycles, dogs, and so on. This brings him into contact with many people and he does a certain amount of touring looking for unlicensed dogs and bicycles. Owing to this interest in licences and the running of the court, he is the person who takes the initiative in the few public prosecutions that are brought. Civil actions are initiated by paying sixpence for a summons, which is usually issued by the court clerk. He is thus well informed of quarrels in advance before they come up for hearing in the court. He is well known throughout the county and exercises a great deal of influence. 647 [693]

Chiefs and People

Whenever beer was brewed in a village, there was an obligation to carry one pot to the chief, and this obligation persists. Apart from this, however, there does not seem ever to have been any organized system of sending tribute to the chief. Mpezeni is said to have had a monopoly of all prisoners of war, but those who had taken the captives were frequently allowed to keep them themselves. This is mentioned as a specific privilege of regional governors. Nowadays the chiefs expect hospitality when they enter the villages, but they have little call on the services of their people. The little assistance they get locally is probably less valuable than the presents they are given by men who are away working or who have just returned. When the chiefs visit the mining towns they are offered money and clothes by Ngoni working there. 622 431 [293] [727]

The chiefs own a number of guns and lend these to people they can trust. All the chiefs organize their own hunts, which differ from the hunts of ordinary people in that all the animals killed belong to the chief, who should, however, give a leg to the killer of each animal. Attendance is compulsory for adult men in the villages that are called out on the hunt, although in practice there are always many absentees. These royal hunts do not usually involve a whole county, but only part of the county. They are useful in keeping down the number of predatory animals, and damage done to crops by wild pigs and baboons is sometimes attributed to the failure of the chief to organize enough hunts. 622 224 [411] [136]

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159 was a son of Zungumbila and died after Mombera. After Mombera's death he was
173 acting chief for some years until Chimtengo was appointed.
643

(16) The following is a list of indunas and chiefs who crossed the Zambezi in November, 1835 :—Chief Zungumbila, Chief of the Ngoni. Chief Gomane Tembe, Chief Councillor. Chief Nyhowane, Chief Military Induna. Induna : Bala Gomane, Military
173 Adviser ; Ngwabudzi, Induna Zindimba Regiment ; Soapfala, Induna Soapfala Regiment ;
161 Ngoni, Induna Nyhowane Regiment ; Mabuni, Induna Zindemba Regiment. Chief
55 Gomane Tembe was also Captain of the Mashaya Inziti Regiment. Chief Nyhowane was
[643 Captain of the Zimpondo Regiment. Regiments :—Nyhowane, Zindemba (black cattle,
[645 white spot), Soapfala, Mashaya Inziti (red and black hide, white spots), Zimpondo. Wives
701 of Zungumbila who crossed over :—Chilenye Mkhalapi, Great Mother ; Swazu Ngumunya,
[595 First Wife ; Umawe Naima, mother of Mombera ; Nyata Naima, mother of Mtwalo ;
Mazwebe Mkhalapi, mother of Mzukuzuku ? ; Chigumane, Ngulube, Ndunya Mbanxiwa,
593 Mombera Gomane, Veyukhani, Mzarhama, slave wife and rain maker ? Daughters :—
Lomagazi and Mphengula. Sister :—Qushiwe.

A further list of Zungumbila's wives who may or may not have crossed over :—
193 Mthumane, Banyamanya, Zin-Khabi, Nqumbani, Mkhabini, Ndunya, Mabeti.
161 Brothers and half-brothers of the chiefs who crossed over :—Mtalwi, Ngoi, Soapfala,
55 Mabunyelanya, Ngwe, Umkwane, Ubalo, Ukhongwaya, Umfina, Mtiyane, Lomagula.
593 Chief Diviner or Inyanga :—Mazyambala.

(16) Zungumbila's sons :—Mzeta Mpezeni, Mtwalo, Ndabazabila, Mombera, Mzolozi, Mwalule, Mwamba, Makakaza Njobwa, Mpezeniko, Mzukuzuku (?) Kakuya, Jubber, Sikaw, Chigumane, and others.

(17) Chief Mpezeni Jere's (Mzeta) wives :—Nyemakha Mangopa, Athumgwa tribe ;
[595 Lupoko Phakati, mother of Tsinga Jere ; Chota ; Mlonga, mother of Mahlalemwe Jere ;
Mliwa Soko, Mahalanga tribe ; Mawaza Soko, Mahalanga tribe, mother of Mgwaza Jere ;
Malonga Nara, Mahalanga tribe ; Kukuya Twala, Swazi tribe ; Ntombiyinhi, First Wife.
[727] Eldest Son :—Tsinga Jere ; married Nkatkwa. Both were shot in the Rebellion of 1898. Grandson :—Chilwa Mpezeni II ; married Augustina ; heir, Pontilius.

159 (18) Mzeta Mpezeni Jere was buried near the cattle kraal in Lupoko village near
173 Fort Young, Fort Jameson District, in 1900.
766 Lupoko, wife of Mzeta Mpezeni I and mother of Tsinga was buried near the cattle kraal in Lupoko village, in 1901.

[727] Tsinga Jere was shot after court martial and buried near Chipanga old camp near Mwase Hill, 1898.

Nkatkwa, wife of Tsinga Jere, shot by Lt. Poole's troops in the Velvet Valley ; buried on the top of Nzeeve Hill, near Christie's Farm, in 1898.

173 Other Ngoni Regiments :—Mayonga (Mzeta Mpezeni's regiment); Machilonga,
704 Mavimba, Mahisa, Zinyoka, Maseko, Mazyina, Zinkonde, Mathona, Mahora, Manyera, Mahowa, Kamlayonela, Mafitikuluvi, Chimalilembalemba.

13:Fraser M-5 (ca. 1890)1901
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where the death penalty can hardly be exacted, or compensation made in the delivery over of slaves, they find it hard to satisfy demands and make a show of justice.

Now let us speak of the social life of the people. The Ngoni differ from most of the Central Africa tribes in their habit of living in large unprotected villages. The tendency of most of the other tribes is to scatter themselves in very little hamlets over a wide area, with scarcely a path of communication between the villages. Where war has harassed them they have built huge stockaded villages for their mutual protection, but as soon as assured peace has come again, the towns have split into numerous distant groups of houses. This seems to be caused by the dread and mistrust of one another which the people have through their superstitious belief in a evil eye, and in witchcraft, and through the perpetual little quarrels that arise. A carrier who was accompanying a friend of mine described this state very well when they passed a little village of four huts, and then a few hundred yards farther on an isolated hut. Holding up his hand he cried, "Look at Mr. Thumb saying to Messrs. Fourfingers, keep your distance."

The heart of a Ngoni village is the large circular cattle kraal. There all the court cases are tried, there the visitors are received, and there the dances are held. Round the kraal the village of beehive huts is built in regular rows, and then immediately outside the gardens begin. The village life takes the place of family life, and the headman is father of all the people. The boys after they have attained to twelve years of age or so live in huts by themselves, and the girls in huts on the opposite side of the village. These girls' quarters used to be most sacredly guarded, and any man found in their enclosure after dark could be killed.

The great part of the Ngoni nation consists of domestic slaves. They are people, or the descendants of people, who have been captured in raiding expeditions. But their position is not a hard one. If they are discontented they may change masters. They give their masters a little free labour, and in return are made members of his family; he espouses all their quarrels, looks after them in sickness, and shares some of his superfluity with them, but they have to share some of their necessities with him.

Polygamy was the universal custom of the people until recently. Now hundreds of polygamous unions are being dissolved every year. But in the rougher days polygamy was a necessary